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CURRENT
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THE VALUE
OF CHILDREN

The value of children to Australian, Greek, and Italian parents in Sydney

Victor J. Callan

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PREFACE

This paper is a revised and extended version of a doctoral thesis submitted in 1979 at the Australian National University, Canberra. The work was entitled "The value and cost of children to Australian, Greek and Italian parents." My supervisor was Dr. Russell Darroch, who has been involved in research on the value of children in Indonesia. My deepest thanks to him for his encouragement and friendship over the period of this research.

Comments provided by reviewers of the thesis have contributed substantially to the directions of analyses followed in the report. My thanks again to Professors John Caldwell, James T. Fawcett, and Jacqueline Goodnow. In addition to their comments, I have received useful observations on the findings of the study in papers presented during 1979 at the Australian Social Psychology Conference (Sydney, Australia), the Tenth Summer Seminar in Population (East-West Population Institute, Honolulu), and the International Conference on the Year of the Child (Canberra, Australia). Finally, I wish to thank Sandra Ward, publications officer of the East-West Population Institute, and Margaret Johnston, graduate research assistant of Kelvin Grove College, Brisbane, for their considerable editorial assistance.

Financial support for the research was provided by the Australian Department of Health and the Australian National University.

ABSTRACT Findings are reported from interviews of 717 husbands and wives living in Sydney, Australia. The respondents were all parents with at least one child. All parents were of Australian, Greek, or Italian descent. The analysis presented is based predominantly on responses to open-ended and structured questions, and upon comments made by parents after completing the questionnaire. Discussion of family formation revealed that the first birth among all parents led to feelings of happiness, excitement, and pride. Southern European parents in particular highlighted the value of the child in starting the family. The first birth produced various motivations for a second child, including the prevalent desire not to have a spoiled, lonely single child and a preference for a child of a particular sex, most often opposite to that of the first child. Economic costs of children were mentioned prominently in connection with all births. From first to later births, however, there were decreases in concerns over childrearing skills, and more frequent mentions of the difficulties of sharing time and affection between children. Whereas responses to open-ended questions emphasized the salience of social and psychological issues upon family formation, general attitude statements proved only partly successful in showing the effect of social and psychological variables upon family-size decisions. The results of the study are discussed in relation to the growing acceptance of the smaller family in Australia.

Within Australia there have occurred dramatic changes in fertility rates and family formation patterns in recent decades. The most successful interpretations of the complexity of these demographic trends have been presented in the First Report (1975) and the Supplementary Report (1978) of the National Population Inquiry.

Overall, the picture that has emerged from these analyses is a long-term trend toward the acceptance of the smaller family at the expense of family sizes of four or more children. For example, in 1911 the national average parity of married women aged 45 to 49 was approximately five children. According to the 1976 Survey of Birth Expectations (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1976), however, women of ages 20 to 29 expected to have only 2.4 children. The significance of this level of fertility is that it is below the smallest average completed family size ever recorded in Australia. Together with this trend toward three- and two-child families, more couples are delaying the birth of

the first child and hurrying up family formation so that four out of five women have completed childbearing by the age of 30.

Why is there a growing trend toward the three- and two-child family, and a desire to spend fewer years involved in childbearing? There appears to be no single explanation. However, reports of the National Population Inquiry, of the Australian Family Formation Project, and of the Melbourne Fertility Study (Department of Demography, Australian National University) have indicated the influence of many prominent factors. A major reason appears to be the increased knowledge and use of more efficient methods of birth control. The Australian fertility literature has also given considerable attention to higher expectations of material living conditions and desired levels of affluence; changing attitudes toward marriage and a growing acceptance of unmarried couples living together; changing attitudes toward divorce, the permanency of marriage, and sexual freedom prior to marriage; greater tolerance toward abortion; changes in the roles and status of women, in particular increased participation of women in the workforce; the higher education of parents and in turn higher educational aspirations for children, or at least a longer commitment to their education; and the likelihood of attractive options in life style and personal development after childbearing.

AIMS OF THE SURVEY

Why study the value and cost of children to Australian, Greek, and Italian parents living in Sydney? A major reason was that there is an obvious need to study the value of children to parents in order to understand why people want children and why they choose to have children over available alternatives. To date in the Australian fertility literature, there has been little attempt to define the value of children to parents and to evaluate the relationship between couples' perceptions of the benefits and costs of children and their decisions about family size. The importance of such information on couples' perceptions of the value of children is further emphasized when one examines the findings reported from the Melbourne Fertility Study and the National Population Inquiry. Many of the relevant variables presented in these reports as explanations for the decline in the desire for larger families can be viewed as being conceptually consistent with the cost-benefit-alternative model proposed in the original value-of-children (VOC) framework developed by Hoffman and Hoffman (1973). Except for the KAP (knowledge, attitudes, and practices concerning family planning) framework used in the Melbourne Study, however,

there has been little effort so far to use any conceptual scheme to examine childbearing motivations and family-size preferences in Australia. In the present survey, the Hoffmans' model was used in the organization of issues to be examined—that is, the benefits and costs of children, and alternative sources of satisfaction. Furthermore, implicit in the design of the survey was the conceptual scheme of Arnold et al. (1975), in which values associated with children are seen as intervening between the socio-demographic background and general psychological orientations of parents on one hand and their fertility attitudes and behavior on the other. Although I have not used the Arnold et al. framework in any extensive way to examine the survey findings, I partly tested it in determining whether the VOC dimensions had a significant predictive effect on family-size variables and attitudes toward contraception, independently of economic and socio-demographic variables.

There were several reasons for examining the childbearing motivations of not only Australian-born couples but also the immigrants who have come halfway around the world to find a new life in Australia. A major reason was the availability of the rich data obtained in Phases I and II of the Value of Children Study (Arnold et al., 1975), which has investigated the values and costs of having children to parents in selected socioeconomic and cultural groups. The VOC project showed that the value and cost of children can be meaningfully measured using methods of direct assessment with parents, for example, in Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, and the United States. Moreover, different patterns of the value and cost of children have been shown for different sociocultural groups (see Fawcett, 1976). Overall, the studies in various countries have shown a relative paucity of differences in the childbearing motivations between husbands and wives. Indeed, most differences were attributed to traditional sex-role beliefs.

Another reason for evaluating the childbearing perceptions of Australian-born and immigrant parents is that one in five Australians was born overseas. Greek and Italian immigrants are among the largest non-English-speaking immigrant communities in Australia's largest cities. In addition, studies of Australian and immigrant women (Caldwell et al., 1973) have highlighted the distinctiveness of Southern Europeans in fertility attitudes and behavior. Their acceptance of the two-child family ranked between the low acceptance rate of Australian-born Catholics and the high rate of Australian and Northern European women of Protestant or no religious affiliation (Ware, 1975). Yet

Caldwell et al. (1973) found that Southern European women had one of the lowest levels of approval of family planning and that Italian women had the lowest level of contraceptive use.

My purpose in investigating the value of children was to establish empirical data on the reasons why Australian, Greek, and Italian husbands and wives wanted children and on the relationship between their perceptions of the values, costs, and alternatives and the number of children they wanted. I did not expect that the project would answer all questions about what is happening to parents during family formation in Australia, but I hoped it would improve understanding of attitudes toward having children from a social and psychological viewpoint. The question of why Australians want fewer children today than in earlier years can be answered fully only when we know reasons for wanting any children and the alternative values that appear to be competing against a long-term involvement in the bearing and rearing of children. In contrast to most Australian family studies, I adopted an interactive approach in which both husbands and wives were interviewed. Few researchers have followed this approach (cf. Fallding, 1957; Richards, 1978), and even the more recent study by Richards did not give equal status to mothers and fathers in either the collection or the interpretation of the data.

METHOD

Major fieldwork for the study was conducted in Sydney between May 1977 and February 1978. Sydney was chosen as the survey site because approximately one-fifth of Australia's population lives there. Another consideration was the large size of its immigrant population, consisting predominantly of the British-born and major concentrations of Southern Europeans born in Greece and Italy.

Several issues shaped the sampling procedures used in the study. One constraint was that I was conducting the study alone in partial fulfillment of my doctorate. I did, however, receive funds from the Australian Department of Health which allowed me to obtain interviewing assistance for a sample of 400 immigrants unable to complete the questionnaire in English. In order to maximize resources and interview as many parents as possible in the time available, I used sampling techniques that produced an unrepresentative sample. My main strategy for locating eligible respondents was through the use of a "snowball," or referral, technique. By this means, parents who had been successfully interviewed gave the interviewer the names and addresses of other Australian, Greek, and Italian parents they knew who met

the eligibility criteria. To avoid the concentration of respondents from very similar family backgrounds, couples were requested to give the names of friends and other associates, but not of brothers or sisters. Two advantages of this "snowball" were that it saved valuable time and research funds in the location of eligible parents, and it reduced the fears of many parents in providing personal information to a stranger.

Respondents selected for the interviews were once-married parents with at least one child. All respondents were living with their spouses at the time of the interview. Wives were under 40 years of age, so that almost all were still rearing children. There was no age limit for husbands. To meet the ethnicity criterion, respondents had to have been born in Australia, Greece, or Italy. Those born in Southern Europe had emigrated to Australia generally when young children or adults. Both parents had to be from the same country. A person who failed to meet any of these criteria was excluded from the study. Use of the criteria for marital status, parental status, and wife's age permitted comparison of the sample with other VOC samples studied by Arnold et al. (1975).

The sampling strategy had two stages. To overcome immigrant couples' fears and lack of interest in answering a questionnaire, and to make up for loss of respondents due to the eligibility criteria, I decided to sample initially in ten residential blocks randomly chosen from census maps for their relatively high concentrations of Southern Europeans. I found, however, that even though the areas were labeled as having higher concentrations of Greeks and Italians, the largest proportions of people living in these locations were Australian-born. After screening 593 households in the five "Greek" and five "Italian" residential blocks, my bilingual assistants and I located 15 Australian-born, 16 Greek-born, and 11 Italian-born couples who met all criteria and agreed to be interviewed. The overall refusal rate was 17 percent, and noncontacts, despite up to three return visits to households, totalled 39 percent.

All parents who successfully completed interviews during the first phase were asked to give names and addresses of any friends who they believed satisfied the eligibility criteria. This referral sampling produced the majority of interviews. During the screening and referral phases, the team of bilingual assistants and I interviewed altogether 366 households. I completed approximately 400 interviews and my Greek and Italian assistants handled the remainder. Overall, 315 Australian-born, 209 Greek-born, and 203 Italian-born parents were interviewed in the nine months of fieldwork. Ninety percent of Greek respondents and

81 percent of Italians completed the interview in their native languages. On average, interviews ranged from one and a half to two hours in length. All respondents were interviewed separately.

The questionnaire

The interview schedule used in the Sydney survey was developed from pilot interviews in Canberra during 1976–77, and from questionnaires made available by researchers involved in the Value of Children Study directed by the East-West Population Institute. The main content of the questionnaire is summarized under the following headings:

1. Screening for eligibility
2. Number of children: name, age, birthdate of each own and adopted child
3. General advantages and disadvantages of having children
4. Advantages and disadvantages of having the first, second, and third child
5. Family size: present family size, number of additional children wanted, total number of children
6. Attitudes toward childlessness and the single child
7. Advantages and disadvantages of having a newborn child
8. Value of a son and a daughter
9. Ratings of specific costs in having children: financial, emotional concerns, restrictions, and overpopulation costs
10. Coombs et al.'s (1975) measure of sex and number preference
11. Attitudes toward having children (This list of 63 Likert-type attitude items was developed from 45 statements used in Phase I of the Value of Children Project [Arnold et al., 1975]. The number of attitude items was expanded to cover values and costs of children mentioned by Australian-born and immigrant parents during the pilot studies in Canberra in 1976, and to include attitude statements concerning the pleasure of children, the fun of playing with them, and the problems involved in disciplining and rearing children, which were not examined adequately in Phase I of the Value of Children Project [Arnold and Fawcett, 1975; Bulatao, 1975].)
12. Working women: women at work and nonworking women
13. Background information: place of birth, size of family of origin, father's occupation when respondent was 13 years of age, location of any extended family, date of marriage, attitudes toward housing and economic position, advantages of living in Sydney
14. Level of schooling and tertiary education
15. Husband's occupation, wife's occupation, income of each
16. Religion as a child and at present
17. Educational aspirations for the children and personal aspirations for the parent
18. Questions to Southern Europeans on language spoken in the home, types of financial assistance given in immigration, willingness to send children to ethnic schools

19. Measures of decision-making; degree of decision-making with each birth; measures of personal freedom given to wives; reasons for delaying the first birth
20. Knowledge of, attitude toward, and use of contraception
21. Perceived influence of children on a person's life
22. Record of persons who referred interviewer to the couple, and addresses of other parents given after the interview
23. Interviewer notes summarizing further discussion or interaction with the parents after the completion of interviews

Coding and processing of the questionnaires

Coding of all questionnaires was completed between December 1977 and late February 1978. All interview schedules were coded by me and "blindly" recoded by a research assistant. Any differences in the two sets of coding were resolved through discussion. Overall, I believe this procedure resulted in a high quality of coding. The framework for coding the open-ended responses was based upon that developed for the Value of Children Study (Angeles, 1978) and expanded in many sections to be more suitable for the Sydney interviews (Callan, 1979).

All data punching was completed by the Data Processing Unit at the Australian National University (ANU). The data were punched directly from the questionnaires onto disk, repunched, verified, and stored on the UNIVAC 1108/1142 at the University. Various Fortran programs were run to test for logical, internal, and other consistencies within the data. Any inconsistencies were resolved through checks of the original questionnaires.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

To assess the value of children in the three ethnic groups and across social boundaries, I divided the sample into various socioeconomic status (SES) categories. By applying the 16 categories of the ANU status scale (Broom et al., 1977) to the code for the occupation of the husband and by collapsing scores, it was possible to divide all ethnic groups into three SES groups based on occupational category. They were professional-managerial (ANU status scores for categories 1–6), white-collar and skilled manual (ANU status scores for categories 7–9), and semi-skilled and unskilled manual (ANU status scores for categories 10–16). For ease of presentation, these socioeconomic groups are labeled as professional, skilled, and unskilled.

Table 1 presents the percentage distributions and means of selected background characteristics of respondents. The age distributions indicate that higher proportions of Greek and Italian respondents than of

native Australians were over age 40. The explanation lies in age differences between husbands and wives. Australian husbands were on average 2.4 years older than their wives, Greek husbands were 3.2 years older, and Italian husbands were 6.1 years older.

On average respondent couples had 2.4 children. Greeks were the most likely to have only two children. Not shown in Table 1 is that length of marriage was similar among the three ethnic groups, with Australian and Greek couples being married for 11 years and Italians only slightly longer, for 13 years.

In general, the Southern Europeans have a social and cultural distinctiveness that is reflected in their disadvantageous position on most socioeconomic measures (Ware, 1974; Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975). On the whole, immigrants in the Sydney survey had received less education than native Australians. Even among the professional status group, 15 percent of Italians and 36 percent of Greeks had received less than seven years of schooling, whereas only 2 percent of Australians had received this level of education. Most immigrant males in the higher income groups were in fact "self-made" men, who through long hours of employment in small shops and retail outlets and through the assistance of their wives and children had developed successful family businesses. In the skilled and unskilled status categories, immigrant males were more likely than Australians to be employed as production-line workers and laborers.

Half of all wives were working full or part time. However, more Southern European than Australian women were working in the unskilled occupations. Only 4 percent of Australian working women were employed as factory workers and laborers, compared with 20 percent of Italian and 33 percent of Greek working women.

Some insight into the lower occupational status of immigrant husbands and wives was gained from information on the length of time they had lived in Australia. Number of years in Australia was to a fair degree positively related to the socioeconomic position attained by an immigrant parent. For example, only 12 percent of Greeks and 28 percent of Italians in the professional group had lived in Australia for less than nine years. In comparison, 27 percent of Greeks and 36 percent of Italians in the unskilled groups had been in Australia for less than a decade. On several other indices, respondents who had lived in Australia longer were more satisfied with their financial and housing situation, and more likely to be self-employed in small businesses and companies, than other immigrants. Interviewers' reports based on discussions after completion of the questionnaire also indicated that

TABLE 1 Percentage distributions of selected sociodemographic characteristics of respondents by status and ethnic group

Characteristic	Professional			Skilled			Unskilled			All respondents
	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	
NUMBER	107	60	60	102	51	83	96	98	60	717
AGE										
19–24	6	7	3	7	6	5	10	9	5	7
25–29	22	20	13	29	28	14	21	8	13	19
30–34	35	22	20	29	29	28	34	21	25	28
35–40	32	34	40	31	26	32	21	45	32	32
>40	7	17	24	5	11	21	14	17	25	14
$\bar{X}$	33	35	37	32	33	35	33	36	36	34
LIVING CHILDREN										
1	28	23	14	12	28	15	18	15	23	19
2	33	53	50	39	50	39	39	62	30	44
3	22	21	27	33	18	27	25	14	25	23
4	7	3	0	8	0	12	15	9	10	8
5	6	0	3	8	4	7	2	0	10	4
6	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	1
7	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
$\bar{X}$	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.0	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.4
YEARS AT SCHOOL										
0–5	2	3	12	1	4	36	1	12	37	11
6–7	0	33	3	5	39	26	16	54	18	20
8–9	32	25	25	58	33	28	65	15	25	36
10–11	51	17	5	32	12	4	14	10	13	19
12–13	15	22	55	4	12	16	4	9	7	14
$\bar{X}$	10	9	10	8	8	7	9	7	7	9

HOUSEHOLD INCOME (Australian dollars)										
6,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	10	2
6–8,999	4	0	0	2	4	9	6	18	10	6
9–11,999	13	20	16	26	23	20	26	26	27	22
12–14,999	0	24	17	39	31	22	25	16	30	24
15–17,999	0	33	23	6	19	20	23	26	17	20
⩾ 18,000	44	23	43	27	23	29	18	12	6	26
$\bar{X}$	17,130	15,633	17,067	14,510	14,385	13,774	13,774	12,700	11,871	14,615
HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION										
Professional, technical, related	70	13	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Administrative, executive, managerial	22	7	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Clerical	0	0	0	28	15	0	0	0	0	5
Sales	4	80	50	10	4	19	9	4	7	18
Transport, communication	0	0	0	2	4	0	25	14	7	7
Trades, production line	0	0	0	59	77	81	49	64	43	42
Service, sport, recreation	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	12	30	6
Armed services, study, other	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	13	3
PERCENTAGE OF WIVES CURRENTLY WORKING	43	56	53	53	46	46	51	50	50	50
YEARS IN AUSTRALIA										
1–5	na	5	10	na	26	8	na	16	8	12[a]
6–9	na	7	18	na	6	20	na	11	28	15[a]
10–13	na	17	13	na	31	18	na	23	22	20[a]
14–17	na	20	8	na	18	29	na	33	22	23[a]
18–21	na	23	28	na	8	10	na	10	7	14[a]
22–25	na	17	18	na	11	11	na	7	10	11[a]
⩾ 26	na	11	5	na	0	4	na	0	3	4[a]
$\bar{X}$	na	18	15	na	12	14	na	13	13	14[a]

TABLE 1 *(continued)*

Characteristic	Professional			Skilled			Unskilled			All respondents
	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	
FATHER'S OCCUPATION WHEN RESPONDENT WAS 13 YEARS OLD										
Professional, technical, related	20	0	20	8	0	6	5	1	7	8
Administrative, executive, managerial	10	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	2	3
Clerical	7	2	7	8	4	1	3	3	3	4
Sales	12	23	20	9	24	16	13	13	8	14
Farming, fishing, related	2	40	10	8	37	25	6	53	22	21
Transport, communication	8	2	5	9	12	4	19	3	7	7
Trades, production line	29	25	28	50	20	36	35	10	35	31
Service, sport, recreation	6	0	3	2	0	4	7	3	8	4
Armed services, other	1	4	7	1	0	3	1	3	5	2
Invalid, deceased	8	3	0	6	4	5	7	10	3	6
RESPONDENT'S RELIGION										
None	23	0	2	24	0	0	23	1	0	10
Catholic	36	0	93	29	0	99	25	0	93	40
Protestant	34	0	0	42	0	0	42	1	0	17
Greek Orthodox	0	100	0	1	100	1	3	98	3	30
Other	8	0	5	4	0	0	7	0	3	4

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

na—not applicable.

a Applies to immigrants only.

parents who had lived in Australia a shorter period were less fluent in English.

Another partial explanation of the predominance of Southern Europeans in the less skilled occupations comes from data on childhood background. As Table 1 indicates, the Australian-born and Southern Europeans were raised in different environments—industrial versus rural. For example, only 5 percent of Australian-born respondents had fathers employed as farmers or fishermen, compared with 45 percent of Greek and 20 percent of Italian respondents. Sixty-eight percent of Greeks and 41 percent of Italians lived as children in small towns and villages, but only 13 percent of native Australians had lived in similar environments. In fact, 81 percent of Australian respondents had spent part or all of their childhood in metropolitan areas such as Sydney and Melbourne.

What this description of background characteristics has indicated is that according to various measures of education, employment status, income, and language ability, Southern Europeans were in a less favorable position than the Australian-born. The effect of these differences, together with the desire of immigrants to segregate themselves residentially by living in areas of high immigrant concentration, was the continued reinforcement of the divisions between Southern Europeans and Anglo-Australians in status, attitudes, and behavior. The extent to which status and cultural differences were reflected in the values and costs of having children is evaluated in the following sections of the paper.

OPEN-ENDED MEASURES OF FAMILY FORMATION

Interpretations of the family building process experienced by Sydney parents are based upon responses to the following measures: the advantages and disadvantages in having a first, second, and third child; perceptions of the degree of decision-making involved; attitudes concerning an only child; reasons for delaying the first birth; and length of birth intervals. In an earlier report (Callan, 1979), I analyzed family formation within socioeconomic status groups. My major findings were that economic costs were mentioned more by parents in the skilled and unskilled groups, and most often by Southern European respondents in these groups; that emotional concerns were salient across all ethnic categories; and that Australian and immigrant parents in the professional groups emphasized more the restrictions and lost opportunities caused by having children than did nonprofessional respondents.

A shortcoming of that earlier report was that it did not examine in detail the value and cost of children separately to husbands and wives in each ethnic group. Nor was a rich source of information gained in the postinterview discussions fully presented. The core measures of the perceptions about raising a family were the questions on the advantages and disadvantages of having each child. As the questions were open-ended, requiring that respondents mention one or two advantages and disadvantages of each birth, interviewers found that they obtained more detailed information when they put the questions in the context of the respondent presenting a brief history of his or her family building experiences. For Australian and immigrant parents, the interviewers would open the discussion with the comment: "Tell me in as much detail as you like, your feelings and the circumstances surrounding the birth of each child in your present family. Start from the time when you were newly married." Using the advantage-disadvantage framework, the respondent and the interviewer spent from ten to 20 minutes clarifying the major benefits and costs of each birth. I followed this approach because I believe each birth is influenced by a different set of circumstances, and each affects the probability and timing of subsequent births (Mishler and Westoff, 1955). The description of the family building pattern in this section may not be applicable to all Australian, Greek, and Italian parents living in Sydney and Australia. However, to date in the Australian fertility literature there has been no similar interpretation of the economic, social, and psychological influences upon couples as they establish their families.

The first birth: a socially important event

One inherent disadvantage of the Sydney sample is that four-fifths of the parents already had two or more children. So, in attempting to understand present trends in fertility and family formation, the analyses are based on information provided by couples who had completed or almost completed their families. On the other hand, the generation of women who have borne children since 1961 (including all women in the present sample) is responsible for one of the sharpest declines ever recorded in Australian marital fertility rates (National Population Inquiry, 1978). The attitudes expressed by respondents in Sydney should therefore provide more information about why both native-born and immigrant Australians want fewer children than in the past and why it appears that they want to be finished with bearing children by age 30.

The initial questions to answer are: When did parents have the first

child, and what does this information together with the value and cost of the first born reveal about the desire for children in Australian society? Table 2 presents the actual spacing of the first birth and the ideal spacing preferred by women.

After two years of marriage, 59 percent of Australian women, 72 percent of Greeks, and 57 percent of Italians had at least one child. Overall, responses indicate that most women, and possible their husbands as well, wanted a child within the initial years of marriage. Moreover, if given the opportunity again, Southern European wives would still have wanted a child in the early years of marriage. Although Australians were less likely still to want a child within two years of marriage, 79 percent of Greeks and 64 percent of Italians still wanted the first birth in this period. One possible interpretation of this result is that immigrant women ignored the idea behind the question and merely reported spacing similar to the actual birth interval. Another interpretation, based upon the mentioned advantages of having the first child, is that Southern Europeans did have and preferred to have the first child within two years after marrying. Thirty-two percent of Australians, if starting a family again, would delay the first birth from three to six years. In comparison, only 9 percent of Greek and Italian women would be willing to delay a birth for that period of time. As one Italian mother explained: "Sure, marriage is for having children, but a couple does need time to enjoy themselves before being tied down by a family. But why wait five years when having children completes the marriage and brings you closer to your husband?"

Table 3 and impressions gained in postinterview discussions with Greek and Italian parents support such expressions. Simply put, there was an immense social importance in having a child in the Southern European community. In describing the advantages of having children, immigrant couples mentioned their happiness and pride in finally becoming parents. Having a child fulfilled the marriage, started the family, and established the couple within the Greek or Italian community. In other discussions, Southern Europeans spoke of the air of expectancy surrounding them as their parents, in-laws, and other relatives talked about the children that everyone expected the young couple to have. For Australians, there were also feelings of pride and happiness, but they expressed a greater range of advantages in having children.

There was a fair degree of similarity in the responses of husbands and wives. One interesting difference, however, was the emphasis Australian husbands, especially those in the nonprofessional status groups, placed upon the fulfillment of oneself from having children. Southern

European husbands emphasized their satisfaction in starting a family with the first birth. Australian husbands and Greek parents mentioned their pleasure in having a son, but Italian parents did not; this issue is examined in more detail with the Coombs measure of sex preference.

Having the first child also entailed disadvantages (Table 3). Sizable proportions of husbands and wives in all ethnic groups mentioned economic costs. The most interesting ethnic differences were in the discussions of restrictions due to children. Australian and Italian respondents were concerned about the general restrictions and minor inconveniences caused by children. Greeks, however, emphasized more the social restrictions. Italians were more likely to express a concern about the responsibility of having children. Even with probing, Italian respondents were unable to be more specific about this general concern, and, as one Italian woman said, "It is just the fact that they are continually on my mind." Interestingly, immigrant parents were more likely than Australians to respond that there were no disadvantages in having children. When the question of disadvantages was raised again at the end of the interview, some respondents were so angered by the interviewer's suggesting that disadvantages might exist that they left the room. As implied in the advantages respondents mentioned, the pride, happiness, and benefits to the marriage of parenthood outweighed for some immigrants any economic or emotional disadvantages.

More Australian and Italian husbands than wives mentioned the economic cost of the first child, but similar proportions of Greek husbands and wives indicated economic concerns. More Greek and Italian husbands than wives mentioned the worries and responsibilities of a family. Australian husbands mentioned more than their wives the inconveniences, social restrictions, and lost sleep caused by having a child. But, to judge from impressions gained in visits to respondents' homes, Australian husbands appeared to be involved in more social activities at night and on weekends than any other group. Because of these social and sporting activities, they were by far the most difficult group to arrange to interview.

Wives in all ethnic groups mentioned more frequently than husbands their concerns about caring for the first child. Although the child offered them novel and exciting experiences, as well as deep feelings of pride, they were faced with indecision and uncertainty as they learned about child care. Especially among the Australian women, the majority of whom had been employed in skilled and professional work before marriage, it was an immense letdown to go from being competent and experienced in the workforce to being incompetent and inexperienced in childrearing, which most believed to be their natural role in life.

That some respondents thought there was an appropriate time to have the first child is indicated in reasons for delaying the first birth given by women who had their first child during the second year of marriage or later (Table 4). Their major concerns were financial, the parents wanting to save money and if possible purchase a home before starting a family. Immigrant wives were more likely than Australians in all status groups to mention this general financial concern.

There was general agreement among Australian and Southern Europeans, especially respondents in the professional group, that couples should not have children until they knew more about each other and were more assured of the success of the marriage. However, as divorce is very uncommon in the Italian and Greek communities sampled, and having a child was perceived by respondents as a blessing upon the marriage, few Southern Europeans could recognize any advantage in delaying the first birth until the third or a later year of marriage.

The second child: increased salience of sex preference and family completion motives

Within an average period of 33 months after the first birth, the second child was born. Parents indicated that the second child, in comparison with the first, was less likely to have "just come"; and in all ethnic groups the majority of respondents, from 58 percent of Australian men to 82 percent of Greek men, believed that both parents had planned the second birth (Table 5). In fact, joint decision-making seems to have been more characteristic of the second than of either the first or the third birth.

Overall, the assessments of husbands and wives were similar. The major discrepancies were among the Greek parents over the extent of joint decision-making about the second birth, and, among Italians, the degree to which the third child was jointly planned.

Before examining the motivations for having the second child, it is necessary to examine the attitudes of parents concerning an only child. Almost 10 percent of parents in the Sydney survey had considered having an only child, but only 3 percent expected to have one child as their completed family.

Table 6 presents the salient reasons for considering the notion of an only child cited by those who had considered it and the reasons for rejecting the notion mentioned by other respondents. The most often mentioned advantages of having an only child were that parents could give more, materially and emotionally, to a single child. But many re-

TABLE 2 Actual and ideal spacing of the first child

(Percentage distribution of women who mentioned specific time intervals by ethnic group)

Time interval	Actual spacing				Ideal spacing			
	Aus-tralian	Greek	Italian	All re-spondents	Aus-tralian	Greek	Italian	All re-spondents
1 year and under[a]	35	36	29	34	11	40	14	20
1–2 years (includes 2)	24	36	28	29	27	39	50	37
2–3 years	22	15	19	19	30	13	28	24
3–4 years	5	5	13	7	15	5	4	9
4–5 years	8	5	6	7	10	2	2	6
5–6 years	1	2	1	1	3	2	0	2
More than 6 years	4	2	5	4	4	0	3	3
Number	158	106	101	365	158	106	101	365

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

a Includes women who had child before marriage.

TABLE 3 Advantages and disadvantages of having the first child
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specific advantages and disadvantages, by ethnic group and sex)

Advantage or disadvantage	Australian		Greek		Italian		All respondents
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ADVANTAGES							
Happiness, excitement	20	20	38	39	45	50	33
Feeling of pride	22	25	37	38	44	32	32
Closeness between husband and wife	12	13	25	33	7	7	16
Fulfillment of oneself	16	5	2	8	8	10	9
Child started the family	2	4	11	4	22	11	8
Enjoyment from growth and development	14	14	4	5	0	0	7
Child was a boy	11	4	17	10	0	1	7
Feeling more settled	7	9	8	5	5	6	7
Enjoyment in playing with child	12	9	2	5	1	2	6
DISADVANTAGES							
Financial cost	33	22	17	19	25	18	23
Not knowing how to care for child	14	43	10	17	9	18	19
General restrictions, inconveniences	21	15	6	5	24	26	16
General worries, concern about responsibility	5	4	16	8	43	30	16
No disadvantages	3	1	26	26	10	12	11
Worry about health of child	14	10	7	13	8	6	10
Feeling socially restricted	17	4	16	11	2	3	9
Loss of sleep	10	3	5	2	12	9	7
Less time together	7	4	10	6	2	6	6
Physical tiredness	1	10	1	1	4	11	5
Number	147	158	103	106	102	101	717

TABLE 4 Reasons for not having the first birth within the first year of marriage
(Percentage of women who mentioned specific reasons, by status and ethnic group)

Reason	Professional			Skilled			Unskilled			All respondents
	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	Australian	Greek	Italian	
To get financially settled first	30	38	46	33	67	83	20	46	54	43
To get to know each other	46	19	46	22	25	35	30	23	21	31
Did not have a home	18	6	36	48	8	39	33	19	25	27
Tried to become pregnant but couldn't	18	19	9	15	25	26	17	23	13	19
Going out together, travel, social life	14	25	14	4	0	4	10	12	8	10
Establish permanent residence in Australia	2	6	27	4	17	22	0	8	21	10
Not ready to start, too young	7	19	9	15	8	13	13	0	4	9
Number[a]	44	16	22	27	12	23	30	26	24	224

a Number of respondents who did not have a child in the first year as indicated here (224) does not correspond to number in Table 2 (241). Calculations from data on date of marriage and date of first birth showed that 17 women did not report the birth of first child within the first year of marriage. Table 4 is based on these self reports.

TABLE 5 Extent of decision-making in having children
(Percentage distribution of respondents, by ethnic group and sex, who said decision to have specific birth was made by wife or husband, both, or neither)

Birth order and decision-maker	Australian		Greek		Italian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
FIRST						
Wife or husband	3	6	6	14	11	7
Both	50	45	81	73	66	69
Neither	47	49	14	13	24	24
Number	147	158	103	106	102	101
SECOND						
Wife or husband	4	4	4	7	7	6
Both	58	61	82	74	77	76
Neither	39	35	13	18	16	18
Number	118	127	82	83	88	84
THIRD						
Wife or husband	7	8	0	0	11	2
Both	41	39	57	60	71	66
Neither	52	52	43	40	17	31
Number	63	71	23	25	46	44

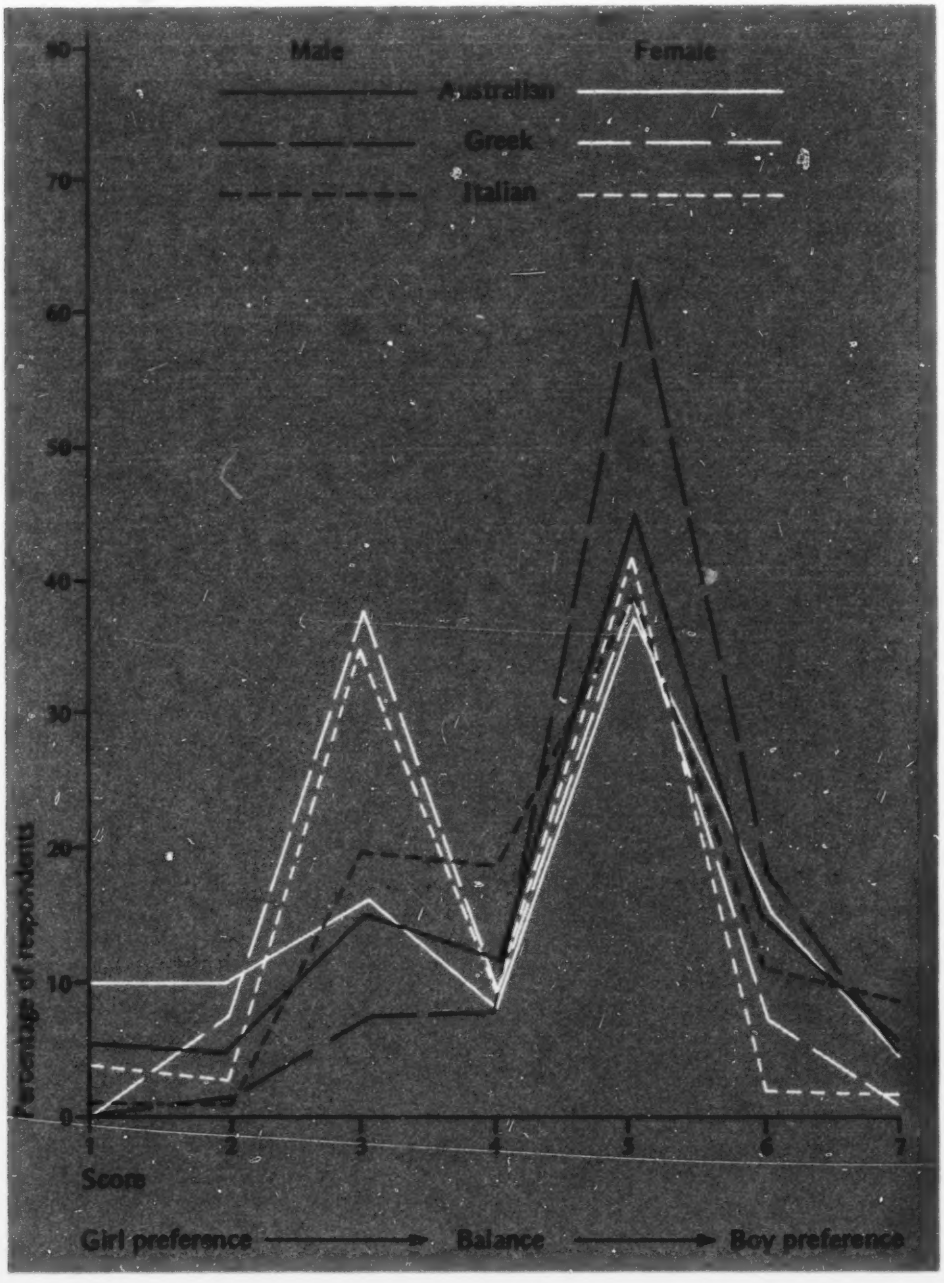
spondents cited medically-based reasons for considering a single child; for example, some women were unwilling to endure pregnancy and childbirth again, and others expected difficulty in becoming pregnant a second time. The reasons why 90 percent of parents did not consider an only child to be a completed family were mostly related to the emotional welfare of the first born. Australian and Southern European respondents drew upon the following stereotype, which was so often repeated in this way that it is possibly one of the most widely held stereotypes in Australian society: "An only child is lonely and spoilt. Also, the child doesn't learn how to share as he doesn't have any brothers and sisters." Many Italians added that one child was not regarded by persons in the Italian community as constituting a family. Greeks were more concerned about the possible death of a single child, the major implication of this being the loss of parental status and the end of the family. Most of their fears about the death of a child were not related to their experiences in Australia, but to the high incidence of child mortality the respondents had witnessed while growing up in the villages of rural Greece.

The advantages and disadvantages of having a second child are presented in Table 7. As a previous analysis indicated few differences in the advantages and disadvantages of a second child mentioned by respondents with two children and those with one child (Callan, 1979), the responses of both groups are shown in Table 7. In view of the major reason given for not wanting a single child (that the child would be lonely), it is not surprising that the benefit of companionship for the first child was the salient advantage to all parents in all ethnic groups. When compared with the advantages of having the first child, the advantages of a second were characterized on one hand by a decline in the salience of personal satisfactions such as pride, fulfillment, and benefits to the husband-wife relationship, and on the other by greater emphasis on family completion. In addition, respondents stressed the desirability of having children of both sexes for a balanced and complete family.

The questionnaire attempted to discover whether respondents preferred children of a particular sex. Figure 1 presents sex-preference distributions for husbands and wives in each ethnic group, based on the sex-preference scale developed by Coombs et al. (1975). Depending on the choices made, each respondent fell into a given interval on a sex-preference (IS) scale of 1 to 7. Scale values from 1 to 3 reflect a descending bias for girls, 4 indicates a preference for a balanced composition, and 5 to 7 an increasing bias for sons. Most distributions peaked at the score IS = 5, indicating a slight son preference. Greek husbands in particular expressed this slight son preference, as did Australian men to a lesser degree. Only Greek and Italian wives indicated as much preference for girls as for boys.

To add further meaning to these sex-preference scores, all respondents were asked to give two reasons for wanting a son and a daughter (Table 8). In comparison with Australians and Italians, Greek parents were more likely to mention the importance of having sons to carry on the family name—77 percent of Greek husbands gave this reason—and the benefits in having a son to protect the family. In postinterview discussions, Greek husbands and wives stressed the need for a son to ensure that daughters remained "good girls" (or, in other words, virgins). Sons were expected to take responsibility for chaperoning their sisters during social events at night, and to introduce their sisters to Greek males. On the other hand, Greek parents revealed a double standard of morality, for they expected their sons to have the social and sexual freedom to do as they wished. The salient reasons Australian husbands gave for wanting a son were to have a companion for

FIGURE 1 Sex-preference scores, by ethnic group and sex



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the father and, more specifically, to be able to teach a son things they knew about sports and handiwork around the home. Italian husbands and wives, whose son preference was balanced by a slight daughter preference (Figure 1), mentioned more often than other ethnic groups that sons and daughters have similar importance.

Whereas respondents felt that a husband needed a son for companionship, they believed that a wife needed the company of a daughter. Australian women mentioned numerous reasons for wanting a daughter that were based on the mother-daughter relationship, including the pleasure of dressing up a daughter and being able to talk to a girl about "women's topics." As an Australian mother said: "You have a lot of fun in dressing her up and in going shopping. As well, you can sit down and talk to a daughter more than you can with a son. A daughter understands what you are saying, and she can be a real comfort during difficult times."

Both male and female Greek respondents expressed a traditional view of the role of women in emphasizing that a daughter should be involved in work around the home. The Greeks regarded daughters as "second mothers" who were involved in cooking, care of younger children, and meeting the needs of the father and their brothers.

There are marked differences between the reasons given especially by Australian and Greek husbands and wives in wanting a son and a daughter. But most of the differences can be explained by a desire to share sex-related interests or by what was regarded as sex-appropriate behavior.

The reasons for wanting a son and a daughter and the advantages of a second child cited by respondents indicate that companionship benefits increased with the second birth. The second child was viewed as a companion not only for the first child but also for the parent of the same sex. The desire for this companionship appears to have led some women to ignore medical advice concerning the dangers of another pregnancy and have a second child. But social pressure may have also influenced their decision. Couples who had stopped at one, when interviewed about the attitudes of other parents, said they had been criticized even by strangers about their decision. Some parents had resorted to telling people that they were unable to have more children. They felt that pity was easier to endure than criticism.

The disadvantages of having a second child were similar to those of having the first (Table 7). Financial costs, general restrictions and inconveniences caused by children, and concern about the responsibility of parenthood were again mentioned by many husbands and wives.

In addition, however, the physical demands of children and concerns over dividing time and affection between siblings were mentioned by substantial percentages of respondents. Australian and Southern European women were more likely to mention these additional disadvantages than their husbands. Indeed, the role of care-giver both in practice and in sex-role expectations is still that of the mother.

Australian and Italian parents in particular mentioned the restrictions and inconveniences associated with having a second child. Post-interview discussions with them suggested why. For some couples, the first birth imposed the most restrictions. Other parents, however, described how they had rearranged their lives around the young child, so that once a routine was established, they experienced few major restrictions. But with the second birth, the degree of planning involved to reduce the restrictions outweighed the benefits that could be gained in time or personal freedom.

Three disadvantages shown in Table 7 deserve comment. First, the belief that there were no disadvantages in having children was expressed by fewer Southern Europeans in relation to the second child than to the first. Evidently few immigrants could ignore the financial burden of two children. Second, immigrant parents, especially respondents in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, were more likely than others to mention the general financial cost of a second child and the need to work harder for the economic security of the family. A third interesting result was that some parents openly expressed their displeasure in not having that boy or girl who was going to complete the family. Cross-tabulations indicated that 70 percent of the respondents who were unhappy about the sex of the second child expected to have, or did have, a third child.

The third child

To complete the picture of family formation of the respondents in Sydney, we asked parents with two or more children to describe the advantages and disadvantages of having a third child. As the responses of parents with two or more children were similar (Callan, 1979), they are presented together (Table 9). Most of the advantages of the third child were related to benefits of family completion and the fulfillment of a sex preference. An advantage not mentioned before was the pleasure of sharing the new baby with the older children in the family. Australian wives were most likely to cite this advantage. Italian parents, in contrast to the other ethnic groups, emphasized their satisfaction in having a large family, and Greeks mentioned in general discus-

TABLE 6 Reasons for considering and not considering an only child
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specific reasons, by ethnic group and sex)

Reason	Australian		Greek		Italian		All respondents
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
FOR CONSIDERING							
Able to give more financially	38	13	83	100	40	60	42
Could not cope emotionally with more	25	29	0	0	20	0	18
Problems in pregnancy, at delivery	19	25	0	0	0	10	14
Able to give more love and attention	0	8	17	33	20	20	13
Possibly could not become pregnant again	0	17	0	0	0	10	7
Number	16	24	6	6	10	10	72
FOR NOT CONSIDERING							
One child is lonely	53	72	58	69	47	43	58
One child is spoiled, selfish	53	43	28	22	23	19	33
One child is not a family	16	10	22	11	37	43	22
If child dies, we have no family	4	5	49	51	13	8	20
I like large families	8	10	6	8	13	16	10
Wanted two, a boy and a girl	7	1	7	8	13	9	7
Parents demand too much from a single child	8	8	0	0	9	3	5
Number	131	134	97	100	92	91	645

TABLE 7 Advantages and disadvantages of having a second child

(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specific advantages and disadvantages, by ethnic group and sex)

Advantage or disadvantage	Australian		Greek		Italian		All respondents
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ADVANTAGES							
Companion for first child	59	57	58	67	51	65	50
Happiness of having two children	7	4	15	13	22	27	13
A completed family	10	8	15	19	11	8	11
More confident in the care of a child	10	27	2	4	6	6	10
Second child was a boy	12	9	10	12	6	3	9
Second child was a girl	7	15	6	13	1	2	8
A balanced, mixed family	11	3	10	8	7	3	7
A step toward having a large family	2	2	9	6	12	13	6
Enjoyment in playing with children	11	6	1	2	3	1	4
Individuality of children	8	9	0	1	2	0	4
DISADVANTAGES							
General financial cost	31	25	26	24	40	26	29
Physical demands of two	7	22	3	18	11	33	15
General restrictions, inconveniences	19	17	2	3	19	19	14
General worries, concern about responsibility	4	3	16	17	35	19	14
Having to divide affection and time	9	13	14	16	2	11	11
There are no disadvantages	4	2	26	18	5	7	9
Worry about health of children	12	9	5	8	2	6	8
Must work harder for economic security	0	0	14	7	15	9	6
Fighting of children	9	8	3	5	1	1	5
Second child not the sex I wanted	3	6	2	7	2	3	4
Number	147	158	103	106	102	101	717

TABLE 8 Reasons for wanting a son and a daughter

(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specific reasons, by ethnic group and sex)

Reason for wanting	Australian		Greek		Italian		All respondents
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
SON							
To carry on the family name	29	20	77	57	39	24	39
Companion for the father	53	20	20	6	23	10	24
To protect the family	3	8	24	32	10	9	13
Sons are the same as daughters	1	5	3	9	21	27	10
To provide brother for daughter	1	7	0	1	0	1	10
To balance the family	3	6	2	3	21	25	9
To teach a boy things I know	39	1	1	0	1	0	9
More loving	0	25	0	0	0	2	6
More independent	1	11	3	2	6	4	5
DAUGHTER							
Companion for the mother	18	39	32	66	35	32	36
To help around the house	7	7	65	50	17	20	25
More loving	36	6	0	4	10	6	12
To balance the family	14	3	9	1	24	23	11
Will maintain ties to family when older	2	15	8	6	8	13	9
Fun to dress up	5	25	1	6	0	5	8
Daughters are the same as sons	1	2	3	7	21	22	8
Girl talks more to mother about "women's topics"	2	24	1	8	1	1	7
Brings happiness into the home	10	2	12	7	6	0	6
Number	147	158	103	106	102	101	717

TABLE 9 Advantages and disadvantages of having a third child
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specific advantages and disadvantages, by ethnic group and sex)

Advantage or disadvantage	Australian		Greek		Italian		All respondents
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ADVANTAGES							
Wanted a large family	6	8	5	11	24	23	12
Child completed the family	9	14	14	12	8	10	11
Child was a boy	14	13	11	6	6	5	9
Child was a girl	12	14	9	13	0	6	9
General pleasure	15	13	2	1	4	6	8
Sharing a new child with other children	8	11	1	1	11	8	7
Happiness of another child	6	6	4	8	10	13	7
DISADVANTAGES							
General financial cost	47	36	44	49	51	41	44
Tied down again	20	21	2	4	19	22	16
General worries, concern about responsibility	4	2	16	15	25	19	12
Having to divide affection and time	13	9	5	8	6	14	9
Physical demands of three children	4	13	2	10	8	19	9
Must work for economic security	0	2	10	5	12	6	5
Fighting of children	11	8	5	1	1	0	5
Number	118	128	81	84	84	83	578

sion that three children created a home atmosphere. Our experiences in the Greek households supported this response. Greek couples and relatives who were visiting took particular delight in the laughter and games of children in the home. In contrast, Australians were less patient and asked children to play outside when we were there.

The disadvantages of a third child and the frequency with which they were mentioned by almost all ethnic groups were similar to those of the second child (cf. Table 7). Immigrant parents, particularly

couples in which the husband was employed in semi- or unskilled work, tended to stress the economic costs. The physical demands of children and the problems of dividing time and affection among the children were again mentioned more frequently by wives than by husbands. Almost 7 percent of respondents indicated that the third child was not of the sex wanted for a complete family; Greek wives constituted the largest proportion of this group.

A notable addition to the list of disadvantages was that the child tied parents down *again*. Australian and Greek wives were most likely to mention this disadvantage. In discussing this response, parents said that the two older children had reached a stage of development in which they were more capable of looking after themselves, and the parents could turn their attention back to themselves. Having a third child postponed this opportunity for personal development.

Australian and Italian women were more likely to mention being tied down by three children than their husbands. Other analyses disclosed that parents who emphasized the restrictions of another child were more likely than others to reveal in the measure of perceived decision-making that the third child "just came"—that is, was unplanned.

Evolution of values with parity

The overall picture that evolved from this discussion with parents of the benefits and costs of each birth was one of changing benefits and costs of children at different stages of family formation. These developments are summarized as follows.

The first birth, more than others, provided parents with feelings of happiness, excitement, and pride. Respondents felt more fulfilled and settled. In discussing the first birth, they were likely to mention their amazement over the rapid growth and development of the child and their curiosity in seeing what sort of child their union would create. Fawcett (1978), also analyzing VOC data, emphasized these curiosity motives and the symbolic importance attached to the first child.

The first birth produced various motivations for a second child. Responses to the Sydney survey indicated a prevalent desire not to have a single child, mostly because of the disadvantages to the child in being lonely and spoiled. Sex preference was also more often mentioned as a motive for the second birth, the preference usually being for a child of the opposite sex from that of the first-born. Additional benefits of the second child were companionship for the first-born and for the parent of the same sex. (See also Bulatao, 1979b; Fawcett, 1978.)

Possibly owing to their emphasis upon sex preference and family completion motives, respondents mentioned less frequently the advantages of happiness, pride, fulfillment, and benefits to the husband-wife relationship when discussing higher parity births. Another explanation is that these elements of childbearing motivation were fulfilled by the first and second births.

There was a decrease in childrearing concerns from the first to the second child as parents became more skilled in childcare. With the second and third child, concern focused on the physical demands of the children and the parent's inability to give sufficient time and affection to each child.

Respondents indicated a larger range of personal and social restrictions with the first child than with subsequent children. They were less specific about the type of inconveniences caused by having a second child, speaking merely of general restrictions. With the third birth, the major concern among female respondents was being tied down again by the demands of a young baby.

Number of children wanted

The question that follows from this analysis of childbearing motivations is: How many children did parents want in their completed family? Table 10 presents the means and frequency distributions based on cross-tabulations by sex of the parent, country of birth, socioeconomic status, and religion. Interestingly enough, no parent wanted to be childless. When respondents were ranked by the mean number of children they wanted, Australian-born Catholics in all status groups wanted the largest families. Eighty-four percent of Catholics in the professional group wanted three or more children, whereas only 39 percent of Greek professionals wanted a similar number of children. The middle ground in fertility intentions was shared by nonprofessional Italians and non-Catholic Australians in skilled and unskilled socioeconomic groups. Respondents most likely to want a smaller family were the professional non-Catholic Australians and all Greeks. Greeks in the professional group were more likely to want an only child than other Southern European and Australian respondents.

This evidence of the pronatalism of Australian-born Catholics, especially of those who were well-educated and employed in higher status occupations, is supported by the reports of the Melbourne Fertility Study (Caldwell et al., 1973; Ware, 1973). Possible explanations for the differences in family-size intentions between Australian-born and Italian-born Catholics are that Italian Catholics in general are less

attached than the native-born to the Australian Catholic system of values (Day, 1964), and that the Australian Catholic education system is a strong reinforcer to Australians of the traditional teachings of the Church.

Contraceptive knowledge and practice

Knowledge of contraceptive methods was widespread among female respondents. All of the Australian women knew of at least some way of preventing or delaying a pregnancy, as did most of the immigrant women. But one Italian and seven Greek women reported that they did not know of any method. The Melbourne survey in 1971 also found that a small proportion of immigrant women were unaware of contraception (Ware, 1973), but the prominent explanation was that these women did not equate withdrawal with contraception.

Female respondents were asked what methods of contraception they were using at the time of the survey to plan, space, and limit births. The major methods of birth control are indicated in Table 11. Over a third of Australian Catholic and non-Catholic women were using the pill. Thirty-one percent of Catholics and 42 percent of non-

TABLE 11 Current methods of contraception
(Percentage distribution of women mentioning specific methods, by ethnic group)

Method	Australian		Greek	Italian	All women
	Catholic	Protestant or none			
Pill	44	41	39	66	49
Tubal ligation	18	29	3	5	13
Condom	13	5	13	8	9
Withdrawal	3	0	25	1	7
IUD	3	7	13	1	6
Vasectomy	13	15	0	0	6
Rhythm, Billing's[a]	5	0	1	3	2
Other	0	3	1	10	4
Refused to answer	0	0	5	6	3
Number	39	75	75	88	277

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

a Billing's method depends on the detection of fertile mucus and abstention from intercourse in the fertile time and four days afterward.

Catholics had chosen sterilization (either tubal ligation or vasectomy). Non-Catholics were somewhat more likely than Catholics to have chosen tubal ligation. In contrast to the Australian-born, no Southern European husband had been sterilized. Although vasectomy is a technically easier operation to perform than tubal ligation, Australian wives were more likely than their husbands to have accepted surgical sterilization. The proportion of sterilizations among the Australian-born was considerably higher than that reported by Caldwell et al. (1973) for women of a similar age in the 1971 Melbourne study. But a follow-up of the Melbourne study in 1977 (Young and Ware, 1979) produced results that compare favorably with the rates of sterilization observed in the Sydney sample. Similar proportions of Australian women under age 40 were sterilized and more wives than husbands accepted sterilization. In the Sydney interviews, fear of becoming pregnant again and the long-term side effects of using the pill were prominent reasons for women to undergo tubal ligation. The finding that more Australian women were sterilized than their husbands supports a general impression I have that Australian males still regard contraception as the wife's concern.

Among the Greek women, the pill and the traditional method of withdrawal were the major methods. Ironically, Greeks who were the most frequent users of withdrawal, a method of questionable reliability, were also among those who wanted small families. Ware (1974) reported similar findings and suggested that Greek immigrants use this "crude" method of birth control with remarkable success in limiting their family size owing to their ardent desire to have well-educated children. In the Sydney survey, 88 percent of Greek parents expected a son to attend university, compared with 38 percent of Australians and 55 percent of Italians.

Interviews with Italian women revealed that for them the pill was almost synonymous with contraception. The high proportion of Italian and Australian Catholic women who had adopted oral contraception is indicative of the extent to which Catholic parents in Sydney desire an effective method of birth control, despite the teachings of the Church.

STRUCTURED MEASURES OF ATTITUDES TOWARD HAVING CHILDREN

Although open-ended questions in the interview elicited information on the personally salient values and costs of children and changes in those values with family formation, they were of limited use in de-

termining the amount of variance explained by value-of-children variables in measures of family size and attitudes toward the use of birth control. Another disadvantage of open-ended questions is that respondents may have difficulty in verbalizing their feelings about having children, or forget to mention prominent benefits and costs at the time of the interview. The purpose of using a series of Likert-type attitude statements was to obtain measures of a wide range of values and costs often associated with children and to use ratings of these items to develop social-psychological VOC indices to predict family-size intentions and attitudes toward the use of birth control.

The structured list of 63 attitude statements was developed from a list used in Phase I of the Value of Children Study (Arnold et al., 1975). In preparation for the Sydney survey, I conducted three series of pilot interviews in Canberra during 1976. From the responses gained to open-ended questions in the first two pilot studies, I developed a list of 128 attitude statements. This list included items about the pleasures of watching children develop, the fun of playing with them, and emotional concerns over rearing and disciplining children—concerns that Bulatao (1975) and Arnold and Fawcett (1975) believed were insufficiently emphasized in the previous list. After exploratory factor analyses and item analyses, I reduced the list of 128 items to 63 attitude statements and used them in the third pilot study and the Sydney survey. The statements were rated by respondents from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

These attitude items provided a more structured method of evaluating the similarities and differences across cultures of respondents' attitudes toward children and parenthood. Whereas Australians used the full range of the seven-point scale, Southern Europeans tended to concentrate upon the positive ratings. As with the open-ended questions, immigrant parents found it difficult to recognize negative aspects of having children. Thirty-five percent of Australian mean scores on the 63 items consisted of positive ratings of 5 or above; in contrast, 75 percent of Greek and 65 percent of Italian mean scores were positive.

To maximize the possibility of obtaining factors that would predict family-size intentions and attitudes toward the use of birth control, I conducted separate factor analyses of the 63 items for Australian, Greek, and Italian respondents. As both varimax and oblimin rotations yielded similar patterns of items, the discussion that follows is based on the varimax solutions. In interpreting the factors, I rejected attitude statements with low correlations ($< .30$) or loadings split highly between two or more factors.

The varimax solution for Australians is presented in Table A1. Eight factors or indices were extracted and labeled as role fulfillment, emotional and lost-opportunity costs, pleasure in the child's development, general childrearing concerns, continuity of traditions, personal development of the parent, parenthood as a natural role in life, and a need for community acceptance. The eight factors explained 42 percent of the total variance. For Greeks, the varimax solution provided seven factors that explained 53 percent of the variance. The factor loadings are presented in Table A2. The seven clusters were interpreted as purpose in life, economic costs, childrearing satisfactions, lost opportunities, being needed, emotional strain, and general childrearing concerns. For Italians, the seven factors that accounted for 51 percent of the variance are shown in Table A3. I labeled the clusters as emotional and lost-opportunity costs, continuity and old-age support, role fulfillment, stability in life, the role of marriage, concerns over the growth of children, and parenthood as a natural role in life. Three factors in the Australian and Italian samples were assigned similar labels.

To evaluate the predictive potential of selected sociodemographic and economic variables and the social-psychological VOC indices developed from the factor analyses, I conducted a series of multiple regressions on the scores of husbands and wives in each ethnic group. The dependent variables were present family size, number of children wanted, and attitudes toward the use of birth control. The attitudinal measure was a rating from 1 (strongly approve) to 4 (strongly disapprove) of the use of birth control to prevent a pregnancy. Only wives were asked to give this rating.

The standardized regression coefficients and the amount of variance explained by the demographic, economic, and social-psychological sets of predictors are presented for Australians in Table 12.

The R^2 for each sex is the result of individual variables being entered into the equation stepwise. The total R^2 is the result of the sociodemographic variables being entered first, followed by the economic and social-psychological indices. Husbands were not questioned about the length of the marriage, and as a result the R^2 for husbands on the sociodemographic variables tends to be lower than for wives.

Examining the relative effects of the three sets of variables on the family-size and birth control measures for Australians shows the sociodemographic and economic variables to be stronger predictors than the social-psychological VOC indices. Among the sociodemographic factors, age was an important determinant of family size and the number of children wanted by Australian husbands and wives. Years of mar-

TABLE 12 Standardized regression coefficients (betas) and proportion of variance explained (R^2) for Australian husbands and wives

	Dependent variables				
	Present family size		Number of children wanted		Attitudes toward birth control
Predictors	Men	Women	Men	Women	(Women only)
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC					
Age	.49†	.22*	.32†	.13	.23*
Size of family of origin	.08	.16*	.06	.27†	.21†
Years at school	.07	.10	.09	.16*	-.16*
Length of marriage	u	.43†	u	.26*	.01
R^2	.23	.37	.10	.17	.14
ECONOMIC					
Number of children perceived as economic burden	.27†	.27†	.35†	.32†	.19*
Attitude toward housing	.33†	.20*	.20*	.14	.06
Husband's income	.18*	.19	.01	.03	.01
Attitude toward economic situation	.13	.26†	.21*	.09	.16
R^2	.21	.17	.16	.11	.05
SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL					
Role fulfillment	.21*	.13	.11	.07	.09
Emotional and opportunity costs	-.13	-.06	-.17	-.09	-.05
Pleasure of child's development	-.04	.03	-.03	.09	.09
General childrearing concerns	.15	.18*	.15	.12	-.18*
Continuity	-.06	.04	.04	.00	-.12
Personal development	-.01	-.07	.03	.05	.08
Natural role in life	-.03	-.07	.06	-.01	.23†
Community acceptance	-.00	-.01	-.03	.03	.03
R^2	.06	.06	.07	.05	.13
Total R^2	.44	.50	.30	.29	.29

* Significant at .05 level.

† Significant at .01 level.

u—unavailable.

riage were also an important determinant, women married longer having and expecting larger families than other women. The attitudinal measure indicated that younger, more educated wives from smaller families were more likely than others to express positive attitudes toward the use of birth control.

Among the economic indices, the number of children perceived as an economic burden was a major determinant of the family-size measures and attitudes toward birth control. Husbands with higher incomes had larger families, and having a positive attitude toward present housing situation was a significant positive predictor of family size.

Although in general the social-psychological indices were the weakest predictors of family size and the number of children wanted, the R^2 for attitude toward birth control was equivalent to the variance explained by sociodemographic measures and higher than the R^2 obtained for economic factors. Men who had larger families scored higher on the role fulfillment benefits of having children than men with smaller families. Wives with larger families scored higher on the index of childrearing concerns, and were more likely than other women to approve of contraception. But wives who perceived motherhood to be a natural role in life disapproved of contraception.

In the regression analyses for Greek respondents (Table 13), again age and length of marriage proved to be strong predictors. For husbands, age bore a significant positive relationship to present family size. Younger wives wanted more children than did older wives, a finding that confirms previous open-ended evidence on the social significance of children to Greek couples. It is possible, however, that this desire by younger women for more children will alter as they become aware of the community norm favoring a small, well-educated family. Education of wives bore a significant negative relationship to present family size, and more educated women held a positive attitude toward the use of birth control. As in Table 12 for the Australians, the number of children perceived by Greek respondents to be an economic burden bore a positive relationship to the measures of family size. Again a more positive attitude toward present housing was held by parents who had or wanted larger numbers of children.

In contrast to the Australian results, the social-psychological VOC indices for Greeks added substantial explanatory power to the prediction of family size and family planning attitudes. Greek husbands who both had and wanted larger families were less concerned than others about being needed through having children or about childrearing problems. An unexpected finding was that wives who had a favorable

TABLE 13 Standardized regression coefficients (betas) and proportion of variance explained (R^2) for Greek husbands and wives

	Dependent variables				
	Present family size		Number of children wanted		Attitudes toward birth control
Predictors	Men	Women	Men	Women	(Women only)
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC					
Age	.34†	.06	.10	−.37*	−.06
Size of family of origin	.10	−.15	.23*	−.01	.06
Years at school	.05	−.21*	.16	−.07	−.28*
Length of marriage	u	.28*	u	.53†	.05
Years in Australia	.04	.10	−.03	.07	−.01
R^2	.14	.21	.07	.14	.09
ECONOMIC					
Number of children perceived as economic burden	.25*	.35†	.17	.38†	−.02
Attitude toward housing	.20	.11	.26*	.18	.11
Husband's income	.13	.11	−.01	.05	.02
Attitude toward economic situation	−.13	.01	−.16	.02	.16
R^2	.12	.15	.10	.17	.05
SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL					
Purpose in life	.25	.16	.29*	.07	.22
Economic costs	−.06	.08	.08	.15	.29†
Childrearing satisfactions	.03	−.06	.05	−.04	−.24
Lost opportunities	−.07	−.10	−.07	−.11	−.13
Being needed	−.24*	−.21	−.31†	−.13	.11
Emotional strain	.12	.04	−.09	.05	.13
General childrearing concerns	−.23*	−.02	−.35†	.00	−.09
R^2	.10	.05	.20	.04	.17
Total R^2	.29	.36	.30	.31	.25

* Significant at .05 level.

† Significant at .01 level.

u—unavailable.

attitude toward birth control were not particularly concerned about the economic burden of having children. Perhaps they felt that birth control had given them such control over their fertility that they need not worry about the economic costs of rearing a family or having more children than they could afford. Indeed, although they were more likely than Australian or Italian women to use more traditional methods such as withdrawal, this report and others (Ware, 1975) suggest that they will reach a family-size target below that of most other sociocultural groups.

The largest total R^2 was obtained for the Italian parents (Table 14). As in the previous analyses, the sociodemographic variables of age and length of marriage bore significant positive relationships to the family-size measures. Relationships were all in the expected direction, and the strength of the relationships was somewhat more impressive than for Australian and Greek respondents. As for the economic measures, again parents who thought that a small family was expensive to raise tended to have and want fewer children than other parents. Males with a positive attitude to housing had larger families. The regression analyses revealed among Italians a larger number of significant relationships between the social-psychological variables and the family-size measures than in the other two ethnic groups. Italian respondents who had and wanted larger families emphasized more their sense of role fulfillment in having children, which included feelings of achievement, satisfaction, and sex identity (see Table A3). Although emphasizing these benefits, they attached less importance to fulfilling a natural desire to become a parent. Respondents having and wanting large families scored lower than others on indices of children causing emotional costs and lost opportunities.

Except for size of the family of origin, there were no significant relationships with the birth control measure. In the amount of variance explained, the social-psychological variables were again more substantial predictors of birth control attitudes than the sociodemographic or economic measures.

In summary, the open-ended questions analyzed previously highlighted the role of social-psychological, economic, and social influences upon having children. In the regression analyses, however, the economic and sociodemographic variables in all ethnic groups provided the greatest explanation of the variance in actual family size and number of children wanted. For the Italian and Greek samples, the social-psychological measures did substantially improve the prediction of actual or wanted family size; for Australians, they provided only a mea-

TABLE 10 Number of children wanted in rank order, by sex of respondents, and percentage of respondents wanting specific number of children, by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and religion

Mean number wanted		Percentage of respondents wanting specific number							
Husbands	Wives	1	2	3	⩾4	Ethnicity	SES	Religion	*N*
3.9	4.3	0	16	11	73	Australian	Professional	Catholic	38
3.5	3.1	0	20	50	30	Australian	Skilled	Catholic	30
3.6	3.0	0	25	50	25	Australian	Unskilled	Catholic	24
3.3	3.0	3	32	33	32	Italian	Unskilled	Catholic	60
3.0	3.2	2	36	33	29	Italian	Skilled	Catholic	83
3.0	3.1	3	28	40	29	Australian	Skilled	Protestant or none	72
3.1	2.9	3	35	36	26	Australian	Unskilled	Protestant or none	72
2.9	2.9	0	50	35	15	Italian	Professional	Catholic	60
2.7	2.7	0	55	25	20	Australian	Professional	Protestant or none	69
2.7	2.7	1	51	28	20	Greek	Unskilled	Greek Orthodox	98
2.6	2.6	4	51	31	14	Greek	Skilled	Greek Orthodox	51
2.5	2.5	8	53	27	12	Greek	Professional	Greek Orthodox	60

TABLE 14 Standardized regression coefficients (betas) and proportion of variance explained (R^2) for Italian husbands and wives

	Dependent variables				
	Present family size		Number of children wanted		Attitudes toward birth control
Predictors	Men	Women	Men	Women	(Women only)
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC					
Age	.38†	.16	.15	-.08	-.04
Size of family of origin	.21*	.27†	.18	.20	.24*
Years at school	-.02	.04	-.02	.06	-.04
Length of marriage	u	.46†	u	.38*	.13
Years in Australia	-.03	-.04	-.13	-.15	.05
R^2	.18	.41	.05	.14	.08
ECONOMIC					
Number of children perceived as economic burden	.43†	.44†	.44†	.46†	.18
Attitude to housing	.21*	.18	.08	.03	.04
Husband's income	.02	-.03	-.01	-.10	-.04
Attitude toward economic situation	-.01	-.10	-.01	-.05	-.01
R^2	.20	.22	.19	.20	.03
SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL					
Emotional and opportunity costs	-.22*	-.17	-.35†	-.26*	-.02
Continuity and old-age support	-.08	-.24	-.15	-.25	.18
Role fulfillment	.32*	.37*	.40*	.41*	.09
Stability in life	-.11	-.03	.05	.08	-.04
The role of marriage	.18	.29*	.14	.24*	.19
Concerns over the growth of children	-.04	.09	-.03	.04	-.02
Natural role in life	-.27*	-.26*	-.26*	-.17	-.23
R^2	.13	.18	.21	.18	.09
Total R^2	.45	.62	.34	.42	.15

* Significant at .05 level.

† Significant at .01 level.

u—unavailable.

ger addition to the total variance explained. On the other hand, in all ethnic groups the social-psychological predictors by themselves explained more of the variance in the birth control measure than either of the other sets of predictor variables. Arnold and Fawcett (1975) reported similar findings from Phase I of the Value of Children Study, in which the social-psychological VOC predictors improved the total explanatory power of family size measures and appeared to be more potent than the traditionally important economic and sociodemographic variables in explaining the attitudes of respondents to the use of birth control.

The question that appears to follow from these findings, therefore, is how to increase further the predictive power of measures of family size and attitudes toward birth control. The varied performance of the social-psychological factors implies that further improvements must be made in structured measures of the values and costs of having children. My major criticism of the attitude items is that they can be more or less important to parents at different stages of family formation. Previous discussion in this paper of attitudes toward different numbers of children suggests that general attitude statements do not tap feelings experienced by parents at different stages of family formation. For example, the desire for a son or a daughter or for another child as a companion for the first will possibly be more salient to parents with one child than to those with two children who have achieved their desired family. Attitudes toward having children need to be measured when parents are actually involved in childbearing decisions. Although it has proved useful to interview women under age 40 with children, more research needs to be conducted on couples in their 20s who are still making childbearing decisions. In addition, there is evidence suggesting that more specific measures of attitude toward the act (e.g., Davidson and Jaccard, 1975) are needed as they might be better predictors of family-size and family planning intentions than the traditional measures of attitude toward the object.

As Fawcett (1976) has noted, an integration of the conceptual approaches and measures being used by economists, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists will ultimately contribute to our understanding of why couples want children, how they weigh the benefits and costs, and what factors influence them to stop childbearing. It is hoped that participation by researchers in these disciplines at such events as workshops and seminars will result in the more successful evaluation of the potential influence of values and costs of having children upon birth control attitudes and family formation decisions.

SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO-CHILD FAMILY

At the beginning of this paper, I expressed the hope that an evaluation of the values and costs of children would add substantial explanation to the research question of why young parents in Australia today are preferring the two- and three-child family over larger numbers of children. The reports of the National Population Inquiry and the Melbourne Fertility Study have indicated that there is no single explanation for declining fertility. Most explanations, whether emphasizing the increased use of more effective birth control methods, the expectancy of a high standard of living, or the desire for women to return to the workforce, have implied a basic change in attitudes held by parents and nonparents. Except for this survey, however, few efforts have been made to determine what is a core component of this attitude change—attitudes to having children. Because of the nature of the sample, the Sydney survey cannot be used to make generalizations about the total population of Sydney or Australia. Nevertheless, the interviews provided measures of the values and costs of children and the personal aspirations of a fair proportion of couples living in Sydney. In this final section, I will offer some suggestions, based on their responses and my knowledge of Australian society, for explaining why Australia's younger parents expect fewer children than any fertility cohort before them.

In examining the motives for wanting children, I found the most interesting results to be the range of satisfactions in having children and changes in the value of children at different stages of family formation. Indeed, fertility decision-making must be seen as a sequential process (see Namboodiri, 1974; Bulatao, 1979b), with different value and cost hierarchies attached to different parities. Among Southern Europeans, there was little question that being married meant having children. Moreover, because children were seen as completing the marriage, bringing parents closer together, and establishing the couple as a family in the Greek and Italian communities, Southern European couples could find few rational reasons for delaying the first birth. In contrast, few Australians mentioned any advantages to the marriage in having children as soon as possible, and if given the opportunity again, they would have been more likely to delay the first birth to the third year of the marriage or later. Unlike the immigrant parents, they did not perceive any pressures from family and friends to have children immediately. Rather, they had been warned of the financial, social, and emotional disadvantages of an unplanned birth in the initial years

of the marriage by other couples who had made that "mistake." The need for working wives to establish their careers, the desire of couples to purchase a home, and the wish of young husbands and wives to know more about each other are leading Australian couples to postpone family formation. One outcome of this deferment is that couples may have fewer children when they do begin childbearing because they have fewer remaining fecund years and also because, as some of the Sydney women mentioned, childbirth entails a greater risk to the mother after age 30.

The National Population Inquiry (1978) reported that the two- or three-child family is being preferred to larger families. On the other hand, among the younger fertility cohorts there is little evidence of an increased acceptance of voluntary childlessness or the only child. Though respondents acknowledged the emotional, economic, and social costs of having children, no respondent would have foregone having children. Indeed, some couples were bewildered that anyone could marry but decide not to have children. Moreover, while most parents held indifferent attitudes toward the voluntary childless, some strongly disapproved, using phrases such as "child haters" or suggesting that the voluntary childless were emotionally and mentally deranged. The most commonly cited reason for not wanting a single child was that the single child tended to be lonely and spoiled. The belief that an only child is lonely appeared to be based on a stereotype, rarely on personal experience as an only child or in having an only child as a friend. Parents expressed fears that the personality development of the child would suffer from lack of companionship and stimulation from siblings. Most parents thought that it was difficult enough to raise well-adjusted children without the additional disadvantage in having an only child who would be, almost by definition, lonely, spoiled, and different from other children.

The first birth led to major changes in the lives of parents. Prior to the birth, all Australian women sampled and the majority of Greek and Italian wives had held jobs. With the first child, the most dramatic change was a more restrictive life style based on a single income. The potential to save money was markedly reduced, while payments on a home, car, or other possessions were now to be met by one income. Some parents found it difficult to meet the emotional and time demands of a new child. "Why does the child cry so much? Is he sick? Am I doing the right thing? What has happened that the child has stopped crying?" Discussion in the media of the significant level of "cot deaths" did little to allay such concerns. Most answers to these

concerns appeared to come with experience. That women could vividly recall the physical exhaustion and emotional anguish they experienced during the initial months of childcare, however, even ten years after the birth, suggests that the feelings of incompetence and inexperience with the first child are prominent reasons for couples to reevaluate their family-size decisions. In addition, that women were more likely to focus upon such feelings in interviews and general discussions is further evidence (Richards, 1978) that most fathers and mothers perceive the father's role to be more important in the later, not earlier, years of a child's life.

With the second and third births, fewer parents mentioned various emotional and childrearing satisfactions in having children. A "curiosity motive" for having children, to discover what a child from their union would look like, had been fulfilled with the first child. In having a boy and a girl, parents believed they would experience the benefits of interacting with children of their own and the opposite sex. Having a child of the same sex tapped into a somewhat different value or need domain. For husbands, these values focused upon companionship, teaching a son things the father knew or had experienced, and providing a continuation of the father's name and protection of the family. Similarly, wives emphasized companionship, but they were more interested in opportunities to talk to a daughter and be involved in the development of her femininity. There was also possibly a socially sanctioned crossover of needs, in that boys were described as being more affectionate toward mothers, and girls more affectionate toward fathers—at least in open-ended responses. However, the balanced sex preference shown by the Coombs scale for all parents except Greek males suggests that the different values attached to sons and daughters may not have been important determinants of the family-size decisions of the Sydney respondents. Indeed, a balanced sex preference is seen to encourage the acceptance of smaller families (Williamson, 1976).

Whether in reference to the first, second, or third child, all parents in the three ethnic groups mentioned economic costs among the major disadvantages of having children. Groups who played down economic concerns were Australian respondents in the professional status groups, and Southern Europeans who insisted that there were no disadvantages in having children. But even these parents said that three or four children would be economically difficult to raise. Parents most likely to emphasize the economic burden of children were immigrant respondents in the skilled and unskilled occupational groups. In view

of the financial, emotional, and social difficulties these non-English-speaking couples face in adapting to Australian life, the salience of economic concerns is not surprising.

By having a two- or three-child family rather than a larger one, many parents believed that they were creating a life style and achieving a quality of childrearing better than any they had experienced as children or young adults. The impression I gained from the Sydney survey is that couples tended to justify their desire to limit family size on the basis of their children's rights and needs, as well as their own. Among the lifetime goals of Australian and Southern European couples were not only the desire to raise well-educated, "quality" children, but also to travel and own a modern home, the last to be achieved as quickly as possible. Among Australian women, there was also an expressed need to enter the workforce at a later stage of family formation and to be successful at an occupation outside the home. Once children were at school, they saw few reasons for staying at home. This view has become prevalent in Australia. As families have become smaller, and housekeeping has been released from heavy, repetitive chores, women at home are perceived as unfulfilled and isolated. It has even been suggested that a reverse in attitudes has occurred and women who decide to stay at home are now regarded as going against the norm (Ware, 1976). That 60 percent of Australian, 87 percent of Greek, and 44 percent of Italian working women in the Sydney sample indicated financial reasons as the prominent motive for working suggests that the wish to give "the best of everything" to their children still outweighed more self-oriented reasons; but it is also well recognized in Australian studies of the working mother (Harper and Richards, 1979) that financial reasons for working are more socially acceptable than reasons of personal fulfillment or gain, especially since most males and females in the Sydney interviews expected women to take prime responsibility for childrearing, particularly in the earlier years. Indeed, only recently have some Australian family researchers (Russell, 1979) examined families in which males have questioned this assumption and become deeply involved in childcare.

The availability of effective methods of contraception, together with greater tolerance toward abortion, has allowed parents in Sydney to decide when to begin and to complete childbearing. In particular, contraception has allowed Australian couples, and will possibly encourage younger Southern European couples, to delay the first birth to consolidate the material and emotional basis of the marriage. The decision to marry in Australian society is no longer in effect a decision

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to have the first child. Evidence from the present study and the 1977 Melbourne Fertility Survey also indicates that Catholic contraceptive use is converging with non-Catholic use; as a result the incidence of large families even among well-educated Catholics is likely to decline. The increased use of sterilization over the last six years is another indicator of the desire to achieve greater control over family size.

The value- and cost-of-children framework used in the Sydney study has provided some information on why Australian-born and immigrant parents want children and why most want to stop at two or three children. Suggestions that families are turning in on themselves (Ruzicka and Caldwell, 1977; Game and Pringle, 1979) or are recognizing alternative life styles (National Population Inquiry, 1978) become somewhat more meaningful with the evidence of the range of values and costs in having children.

Shortcomings raised previously in VOC studies (Fawcett, 1976; Arnold et al., 1975) again became obvious in the Sydney study. In particular, there is a need for attitude measures more specifically related to the stage of family formation; indices of perceived social pressure to have children; and attempts to examine and quantify such concepts as "quality childrearing," "perceived economic costs," and in particular "alternative sources of satisfaction to having children." Furthermore, VOC research has yet to study fully the actual processes of fertility decision-making; and although there are a number of economic (e.g., Easterlin, 1975) and social-psychological models (e.g., Namboodiri, 1974; Terhune, 1973), the benefits and costs of children, beyond contributions to a general understanding of fertility decisions (Bulatao, 1979b), have yet to be systematically incorporated into existing models or used to develop more detailed parity-specific decision-making frameworks.

The present study is perhaps unique in the Australian fertility literature both in its use of the value-of-children framework and its interviews with husbands and wives about the economic and noneconomic influences upon parents in a variety of ethnic and socioeconomic groups. It is an exploratory step which is to be followed by smaller-scale studies of young singles and couples. In the latter half of 1980, over one hundred voluntarily childless persons have been questioned about the values and costs of children, and about alternative sources of satisfaction to having children. Population studies in Australia and elsewhere, previously the realm of demographers and family planning workers, can only benefit from an increased involvement of psychologists and other social researchers concerned more with the individual couple, fertility motivations, and decision-making.

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE A1 Australians: Factor structure after varimax rotation of attitude statements about having children

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7 A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	**.73**	.07	-.03	-.05	-.11	.02	.01	-.01	-.11
21 A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	**.69**	.12	.05	.01	.06	-.03	-.03	-.07	-.09
35 Having children is the most important function in marriage	**.58**	-.04	.03	.13	.14	.27	.28	.07	.07
11 The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	**.55**	-.05	.22	-.06	.13	.24	-.01	-.20	.04
26 In having children a person shows proof of their masculinity or femininity	**.51**	.04	.06	.03	.18	-.01	.10	.10	-.02
14 Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	**.47**	-.10	.15	.13	.11	.28	.19	-.01	-.16
46 The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	**.47**	-.04	.17	.08	.10	.33	.17	.02	.21
41 It is a person's duty to society to have children	**.44**	-.07	-.13	.11	.21	.14	.26	.17	.12
55 A person who has no children can never really be happy	**.42**	-.05	.22	-.02	.12	.13	.21	.16	.12
25 It is important to have children so that a person is not lonely in old age	**.40**	.08	-.00	.12	.27	.11	.17	.22	-.12
17 It is a person's religious duty to have children	**.35**	-.10	-.14	.14	.15	.14	.09	.13	.05

42 Raising children is a great physical strain on parents	-.01	**.62**	.12	.04	-.01	.00	-.01	.09	.12
24 Children are often difficult and annoying	-.15	**.58**	-.18	.09	.08	-.05	-.02	.09	-.05
54 Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	-.00	**.55**	.11	.03	-.15	-.01	.05	.04	-.02
12 Always having children around is a great mental strain	.11	**.54**	-.01	-.06	-.01	.04	-.10	.11	.08
38 The noise and disorder of children continually gets on a parent's nerves	.05	**.53**	-.07	-.11	-.00	-.00	.21	-.06	-.06
22 Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	-.07	**.53**	-.01	.10	.04	.05	-.19	.07	.38
16 When you have children you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	-.07	**.52**	-.01	.10	.03	.05	-.19	.07	.38
19 The disciplining of children brings much anxiety to parents	.09	**.49**	.03	.14	.12	.02	.03	.07	-.10
45 A major strain of having children is that parents have less time for each other	-.06	**.46**	-.05	.15	-.04	.05	-.25	.10	.07
50 The misbehavior of children often creates a falling out between friends	-.05	**.39**	.26	.05	.08	-.04	.05	-.00	-.03
4 It is very difficult to plan your own activities when you have children	.05	**.36**	-.00	.25	.28	.00	-.19	-.02	.23
53 One of the nicest things about having children is watching their growth and development	.03	.13	**.55**	.19	.01	.01	-.05	.03	.02
52 It is always fun to play with children	.18	-.12	**.50**	.13	.10	.12	.21	-.12	.07
43 One of the best things about having children is the chance to educate and teach them	.08	.08	**.32**	-.07	.08	.14	.17	.05	.05

TABLE A1 *(continued)*

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3 Educational expenses of children are a heavy financial burden	.12	.13	.08	**.50**	-.05	-.03	-.01	.04	.06
1 Having children forces most people to settle down and work hard for their family	.02	-.00	-.08	**.48**	.09	.12	.12	-.03	.11
2 A major concern of parents is the health of their children	.09	-.05	.13	**.64**	.09	-.03	.16	-.00	-.17
9 The responsibility of having children is often very heavy	-.06	.24	.05	**.42**	-.02	.10	-.14	.20	-.07
37 It is important to have children so that family traditions will live on	.33	.03	.15	.04	**.63**	.16	-.16	-.06	.00
18 It is important to have children to continue the family name	.28	-.07	.11	-.02	**.60**	-.04	.13	.02	.03
28 With almost no one else can you have such a strong bond of affection as with your children	.01	.07	-.02	-.09	.12	**.61**	.03	-.00	-.03
32 With almost no one else can you give and share as you can with children	.13	-.05	.08	.01	.01	**.54**	.03	.04	.12
34 Especially in having children, people are taught to be unselfish	.27	.01	-.10	.10	-.07	**.42**	.15	-.01	.02
58 It is only natural that a woman should want children	.20	-.01	.05	.06	.07	.15	**.66**	.00	.02
61 It is only natural that a man should want children	.19	.05	.09	-.00	.17	.13	**.63**	.14	.03
30 A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	-.03	.16	-.09	-.07	.04	-.06	-.18	**.57**	.02

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57	A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.08	.10	-.02	.04	.01	-.03	.05	**.55**	.19

TABLE A2 Greeks: Factor structure after varimax rotation of attitude statements about having children

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
49 One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	**.76**	.04	.14	-.08	.07	.10	.10	-.16
48 Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	**.71**	.11	-.21	-.01	.00	.05	.11	-.33
44 Through having children a person can feel true completeness with life	**.66**	.14	.14	.09	-.02	-.09	.06	-.01
27 One of the most important benefits of children is their ability to improve a person's relationship with the person's own parents	**.63**	.13	.10	.17	.20	.07	-.06	-.31
54 It is difficult not to have children if all your friends have children	**.61**	.22	.22	.15	.25	-.05	.08	.06
35 Having children is the most important function in marriage	**.61**	.03	.19	-.04	-.01	-.08	.00	.14
18 It is important to have children to continue the family name	**.52**	.28	.10	.11	.16	-.13	.03	.39

TABLE A2 *(continued)*

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
60 Without having children there is little chance that you will mature into a responsible adult	**.52**	.01	.12	.12	.06	.07	-.03	.10
25 It is important to have children so that a person is not lonely in old age	**.49**	-.01	.27	.28	.03	-.03	-.03	.13
55 A person who has no children can never really be happy	**.49**	.10	.27	.09	.25	-.04	.04	.11
23 Having children makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	**.43**	-.05	.07	.15	.12	-.06	-.08	-.01
40 With a child a person can feel completely free to express his or her love and affection	**.38**	-.17	.18	.13	.07	.11	.01	.04
51 Raising children is a heavy financial burden	-.01	**.81**	-.08	.24	-.05	.09	.27	-.08
63 For most people it is inevitable to have children	-.13	**.78**	.02	.16	-.03	.07	.09	-.30
47 Children can provide economic support in one's old age	-.01	**.77**	.23	.04	-.10	.03	-.13	-.08
20 Medical expenses of children are a heavy financial burden	.05	**.69**	-.11	.19	.07	.14	.13	.03
3 Educational expenses of children are a heavy financial burden	.07	**.62**	.01	.07	-.02	.11	.10	.01
17 It is a person's religious duty to have children	.21	**.62**	.16	-.07	.34	.18	-.05	.01
21 A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.11	**.53**	-.07	.06	.03	.21	-.01	.20
32 With almost no one else can you give and share as you can with children	.39	-.00	**.61**	-.01	.20	.14	.13	-.17
43 One of the best things about having children is the chance to educate and teach them	.23	.22	**.55**	-.07	-.09	-.01	-.00	-.09

28	With almost no one else can you have such a strong bond of affection as with your children	.17	.05	**.49**	.04	.20	.17	-.07	-.09
10	All the efforts a person makes for his or her children are worthwhile in the long run	.05	.02	**.48**	.05	.03	-.03	-.04	.08
8	A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his or her achievements in life	.02	.24	**.45**	.19	.20	.06	-.23	.19
11	The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.21	.23	**.40**	.10	.15	.07	.05	-.00
53	One of the nicest things about having children is watching their growth and development	.15	-.07	**.33**	-.01	.14	-.12	.00	-.08
22	Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	-.04	.24	.07	**.62**	-.04	.30	.13	.09
4	It is very difficult to plan your own activities when you have children	.06	.17	.04	**.58**	-.03	.07	.10	-.00
62	Having children restricts you in where you want to live	.14	.12	-.03	**.58**	.11	.17	.22	-.10
52	It is always fun to play with children	.29	.10	.11	.01	**.69**	-.07	.03	.00
13	Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	.14	-.01	.13	.08	**.47**	-.09	-.15	.02
38	The noise and disorder of children continually gets on a parent's nerves	-.11	.27	.04	.16	-.02	**.67**	.04	-.06
39	Children bring out our lack of patience	.01	.14	.08	.10	.02	**.62**	-.10	-.12
12	Always having children around is a great mental strain	-.06	.18	.02	.14	-.10	**.46**	.01	.09
15	The proper growth and development of children is a major worry to parents	.10	.04	.20	.21	-.02	.05	**.73**	-.02
9	The responsibility of having children is often very heavy	.11	.16	-.02	.29	-.02	.06	**.63**	.06

TABLE A3 Italians: Factor structure after varimax rotation of attitude statements about having children

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
24 Children are often difficult and annoying	**.75**	.01	-.07	.03	.07	.07	-.05	.09
12 Always having children around is a great mental strain	**.69**	.03	.05	-.05	-.06	.18	.04	.17
51 Raising children is a heavy financial burden	**.67**	.00	.02	.18	-.08	.09	.07	.10
38 The noise and disorder of children continually gets on a parent's nerves	**.62**	.23	.05	-.04	.13	-.10	.03	-.03
4 It is very difficult to plan your own activities when you have children	**.61**	-.07	.04	-.13	.05	.22	.16	-.13
16 When you have children you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	**.53**	.14	-.03	.22	.15	.27	.11	-.03
42 Raising children is a great physical strain on parents	**.53**	.22	.04	.12	-.17	.14	-.11	.04
39 Children bring out our lack of patience	**.47**	.27	-.12	.04	.13	-.14	-.15	.03
45 A major strain of having children is that parents have less time for each other	**.47**	-.03	-.02	.19	.03	-.08	.10	.14
19 The disciplining of children brings much anxiety to parents	**.38**	.23	-.12	-.09	.15	.21	-.01	-.26
18 It is important to have children to continue the family name	.19	**.81**	.13	-.23	.06	.01	.09	.02
29 A person can feel that part of him or her lives on after death if he or she has children	.09	**.77**	.02	.01	-.14	.15	-.13	.28
37 It is important to have children so that family traditions will live on	.19	**.76**	-.01	-.02	.17	-.00	.01	.09
25 It is important to have children so that a person is not lonely in old age	.08	**.70**	.09	.08	.11	-.11	-.08	.09

6 It is important to have at least one boy in the family	.25	**.59**	.30	-.24	.12	.09	.02	-.03
47 Children can provide economic support in one's old age	-.03	**.49**	.12	.31	.01	-.17	-.07	.11
32 With almost no one else can you give and share as you can with children	-.01	**.43**	.09	.13	.14	.15	.14	.20
7 A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	.13	.16	**.60**	.05	.28	-.17	.08	.08
8 A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his or her achievements in life	-.12	.04	**.59**	-.03	.33	.10	.13	-.11
11 The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	-.19	.07	**.57**	.33	.20	.09	.18	-.01
14 Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	-.12	.20	**.54**	-.01	.26	-.13	.14	.03
26 In having children a person shows proof of their masculinity or femininity	.29	.22	**.47**	.08	.22	-.08	.26	.17
21 A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.28	-.01	**.46**	.02	.33	-.16	.27	.19
62 Having children restricts you in where you want to live	.08	.01	.08	**.47**	-.01	.02	.00	-.05
48 Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	-.08	.24	.21	**.42**	.21	-.03	.12	-.01
40 With a child a person can feel completely free to express his or her love and affection	-.04	.17	.10	**.29**	.24	.10	.05	-.04
49 One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	-.02	.12	.19	.04	**.76**	-.04	.21	.05
35 Having children is the most important function in marriage	.03	-.01	.23	-.08	**.63**	-.04	.24	.16
36 Life would be pretty dull without children	-.04	.09	.06	.02	**.56**	.11	.09	.00

TABLE A3 *(continued)*

Statement	Factor 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
23 Having children makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	.06	.15	-.00	.03	**.49**	.16	-.09	.08
1 Having children forces most people to settle down and work hard for their family	.17	-.09	.07	.03	.04	**.51**	-.03	.09
53 One of the nicest things about having children is watching their growth and development	.07	.04	-.08	.10	.13	**.43**	.22	.01
15 The proper growth and development of children is a major worry to parents	.16	.00	-.10	-.07	.05	**.36**	.17	-.02
2 A major concern of parents is the health of their children	.12	.15	-.04	-.14	.02	**.31**	-.16	.22
61 It is only natural that a man should want children	.03	.12	.19	-.05	.28	.04	**.60**	.09
58 It is only natural that a woman should want children	.08	.31	.12	.00	.14	.09	**.60**	-.19
63 For most people it is inevitable to have children	.21	.12	.14	-.01	.25	.02	**.51**	-.06

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60-A On the nature of the transition in the value of children, by Rodolfo A. Bulatao, March 1979, xvi + 104 pp.

60-B Further evidence of the transition in the value of children, by Rodolfo A. Bulatao, November 1979, vii + 84 pp.

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